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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION

Letter dated 5 October 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the comments of the Republic of Iraq on the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace".

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex circulated as a document of the General Assembly under agenda item 10.

(Signed) Nizar HAMDOON
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Comments of Iraq on the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace"

1. In general and in the final analysis, the report of the Secretary-General reflects the Western and particularly the United States conception of what the role of the United Nations should be in the so-called "new international order".

2. The report of the Secretary-General seeks to impose the Security Council mechanism on the handling of issues between States. The experience of past years has confirmed that the Security Council is almost completely submissive to the will of the United States of America and its Western allies, and we cannot therefore expect third world issues to be dealt with justly and fairly. That double standards are being employed has become abundantly clear, and this is firmly established in the manner in which the Security Council deals with international issues and with issues relating to third world countries in particular. In light of this fact, how can States yield any measure of their independence to a body that does not guarantee justice and fairness in its operation?

3. This has repercussions on the concept of "preventive diplomacy". What is the impartial source that we can trust to provide the necessary information? The experience of the last few years in particular has confirmed the hegemony exercised by United States and Western parties over international institutions, commissions of inquiry and other United Nations bodies and over the conclusions drawn from the information they provide. The role of third world countries in such activities has diminished, and no trust can therefore be placed in the fairness and accuracy of the information on the basis of which the exercise of "preventive diplomacy" is justified.

Any State may be an exposed target for the ambitions of particular Powers and States as a result of the specific information that they provide on that State under the cloak of "preventive diplomacy", particularly since it is not in the power of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to furnish any guarantees that the information thus obtained by the United Nations will be used to promote the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and not to serve the particular political interests of specific parties.

4. The references made in the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the weakening or diminution of the principle of the sovereignty of States to the advantage of the United Nations and of issues such as democracy and human rights, even if better formulated, give rise to strong and legitimate concern. In the current situation of the United Nations, with the imposition of the Western and particularly the United States conception of what the United Nations role should be, with attempts to impose the mechanisms of the Security Council on international issues when hegemony over the Council is being exercised by the United States and its Western allies and with the inability of the Secretary-General in such circumstances to furnish guarantees of the fairness of the arrangements and measures required by preventive diplomacy, the actual practice of what the Secretary-General urges will be to the detriment of States and particularly the developing countries.

An example to this effect is the imposition by the United States, the United Kingdom and France of aerial exclusion zones on northern and southern Iraq, an unlawful and internationally prohibited act. The spokesman for the Secretary-General of the United Nations has on more than one occasion affirmed that the United Nations has no connection with this action. Nevertheless, the United States and its allies shamelessly and arrogantly claim that they are thereby implementing Security Council resolutions.

Another example is the United States-European military campaign for the invasion of Somalia under the cloak of the United Nations. The recent bloody events have revealed some of the true aspects of this invasion, and they confirm the impotence of the United Nations and its lack of influence on the policies and schemes of the United States and its allies.

5. The real financial, administrative and operational situation of the United Nations clearly demonstrates its inability to undertake any peace-keeping operation while relying on its own capacities. The United Nations therefore operates on a basis of "delegation" and "proxy" that allows a State that has the power and a vested interest to sponsor military intervention devoid of any role for the United Nations or the international community in whose name the intervention was approved. The current international situation is characterized by the attempt of one State to dominate the world and to control the United Nations and the conduct of its work and use it to encroach on the sovereignty and independence of States and give a specific interpretation to international peace and security that promotes its own political and economic goals. The hegemony of the United States of America and its Western allies over the United Nations and over the Security Council in particular is leading to a diminution of justice and equality, to the increasing use of two different standards and to the dissemination of a particular and selective interpretation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law.

The global aggression against Iraq between 17 January and 28 February 1991 is a major example of this phenomenon. The United States of America and its allies proceeded, by prior intent, to transform the resolutions of the Security Council on the issue of Kuwait from an endeavour under the auspices of the Council for the removal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait into a global United States-Western act of military aggression aimed at destroying the civilian infrastructure of the country. They dropped more than 107,000 tons of bombs and explosives on plants, factories, farms, roads, bridges, oil refineries, railways and drinking-water-supply facilities in cities and in the countryside and on civilian hospitals and shelters, civilian populated neighbourhoods, schools and houses of worship. This brutal aggression extended to all parts of Iraq, from the far north to the extreme south and from the remote west to the eastern boundaries.

As well as attacking Iraq's civilian infrastructure, the United States and Western coalition forces carried out a whole series of attacks, using missiles and laser-guided bombs in thousands of aerial sorties, in which they sought to assassinate the political leadership in Iraq.

6. In the context of current circumstances and conditions in the world, a response to the invitation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to link regional structures with the United Nations peace-keeping mechanism would

expose regional organizations to the risk of destroying their independence and to their falling under the tutelage of the Security Council. This would mean their becoming an executive instrument of the will of the Council and their departure from their true objectives and the principles of their founding charters, particularly since the employment of double standards by the Security Council and the United Nations in regard to third world issues has never been more evident than it is now.

7. While we do not in principle oppose the assumption by the United Nations of additional functions and responsibilities in the prevention and settlement of disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, and while we do not reject the principle of cooperation, coordination and complementarity between regional organizations and the United Nations, we nevertheless have serious and substantive reservations with regard to what we can expect in terms of concrete actions based primarily on the violation of the principle of the sovereignty of States and on according those States that exercise hegemony over the Security Council and the United Nations the opportunity to intervene in the internal affairs of other States, particularly the developing countries.

8. For all of the foregoing reasons, we must state that no confidence can be placed in the proposals presented in the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" before radical reforms are made in the working procedures of the Security Council and the United Nations and before there is a change in the situation regarding the monopoly on decision-making exercised by the United States of America and its Western allies. When there is an appreciable change in this essential aspect and there emerges an equilibrium that ensures trust, it will then be possible to have confidence that the themes and objectives presented in the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations can be implemented in a fair and just manner.